

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

Vol. 1.

BELLEVILLE, ILL., SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1899.

No. 46.

No Laws, No Rights of Property should Stand Against those who Create Property.

CHARGEABLE TO THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

The wrecking of the mill of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining Corporation, Idaho, was the result of an organized attempt by the Standard Oil Company to wreck organized labor, particularly the Western Miners' Union. This glutinous octopus aims to control the mines of the United States. It has taken its stand against fair wages and honest labor. It has sent its paid spies to the Coeur d'Alene mining district for the express purpose of fomenting trouble, it is clearly a case of one wrong getting another, and the agents of the Standard committed the first. This shameless combine of law-breakers, as part of their plan to secure control of vast mining properties, sought to foment strife between the miners and mine operators; failing in this, recourse was had to spotting the union men employed at the Bunker Hill mine and ordering them to get their time at the office. For some days the miners endured this, but in self-defense were finally compelled to strike. When the Freemen's Labor Journal, of Spokane, Wash., says "the men were gored to the limit," every one who remembers Spring Valley, Pullman, Homestead and Hazleton will appreciate what that means. It was a blow directed at the lives of the miners and their families. The mine owners have on their side the law and the courts, the governor of the state, United States soldiers, the capitalist press and unorganized labor. All the miners have is justice and some measure of public sympathy.

The Freemen's Labor Journal says:

"The Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine is a conspicuous example of a fool policy of coercion and of failure to recognize the rights of individuals. It refuses wages that other less prosperous mines at the same place pay. The men who took part in the wrecking of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan concentrator were not animated by a spirit of lawlessness, but their minds were embittered by the knowledge that the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine of all mines of this district alone in its surlessness repudiated the honest demands of skilled labor, and attempted to run a "scab" mine in a union camp. Under such a condition, sooner or later, the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine would have driven competent miners from the Coeur d'Alenes or the mine would have been shut down."

"The price of lead has advanced. The mine is prosperous. The wages of the miners ought to be raised. Let us not forget in judging the motives that animated those that took part in the blowing up of the Bunker Hill concentrator that it was a struggle of men who had wives and children to better their condition and the condition of the fellow-men. There are greater crimes than the blowing up of a mill."

And the Standard Oil Company has been guilty of the greater crimes.

The length which the state and military authorities are prepared to go to wreck workingmen's organizations, in the interest of heartless and tyrannical corporations, is shown by the order of General Merriam and the attorney-general of Idaho, which provides that no mine-owner shall be permitted to operate his mine if he employs a member of the union. Such action as this is unworthy of the worst despotism on earth—but it occurs in "free and enlightened" America.

Senator Mason's pure-food inquiry has brought out the fact that flavors sold at soda-water fountains as the juice of fruits are chemical compositions.

That's all right for summer drinks. But inquiry has also brought out the fact that the fruits of a hundred years' experimental and irresponsible rule in America are tyranny and despotism and capitalist domination of "government" and the people's lives.

A New York lawyer has just been awarded \$700 in a suit against Hetty Green for valuable services in beating the state out of \$28,000 taxes. In other words, a court of justice rewards an attorney, one of its own officers, because he was instrumental in beating the state, that is the people, out of what the state said was just to do it and Mrs. Green was abundantly able to pay.

Comrade F. O. McCartney spoke on Boston Common, Sunday afternoon May 7.

The button designed by Comrade Drake, of Boston, is highly spoken of by our Eastern friends.

The new branches organized since last week are at Beverly, Mass., Salem, Ohio, Chelsea, Mass., and Nashville, Tenn.

If you want information how to organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party, write to Theodore Debs, National Secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

A meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, will be held at 209 St. Louis Ave., Monday evening, May 22. Charles Soelke or S. Stedman will speak. Ladies are specially invited.

The Brockton branch of the Social Democratic Party has a helpmeet in the form of a ladies' reading circle which has organized for the purpose of reading Socialistic books and pamphlets and arming themselves for arguments which may come their way.

Our valued contributor, Isador Ladoff, is confined to his bed at his home in Milwaukee by a badly injured leg, a piece of iron penetrated it to the bone, inflicting a dangerous and painful wound. Comrade Ladoff is reported to be doing as well as can be expected, although there was at first a fear that amputation would be necessary.

One of the immediate results of Comrade Debs' visit to Nashville was the determination of the Socialist club of that city to join the Social Democratic Party. Their action brings to the organization a body of earnest, true comrades, whose active work in the past year is a guarantee for greater service in their new affiliation. We heartily welcome the Nashville comrades to the ranks of International Socialism.

In addition to the good news from Nashville, we are able to state that the Socialist Club of Memphis will also become a branch of the S. D. P. Which is more good news. One of the exceptionally strong men of this branch will be William Pinard, national-organizer of the Barbers' Union. The president of the Memphis Socialist Club was C. W. Merker, and the new branch is a distinctly valuable addition.

It is not surprising that the indefatigable Gordon should get mixed up with Charley Martin on the "Farmers' Demands," but what shall be said when an esteemed contemporary, Humanity, for April, confuses Gordon with the great Karl Marx himself, as witness this credit to "Gordon":

"Workingmen unite! You have nothing but your chains to loose; you have a world to gain.—F. G. R. Gordon."

A communication received from the Dallas branch of the Socialist Endeavor Society of Texas, an organization with a growing membership and flattering prospects of extended influence, says: "It is useless to state that we are heartily in accord with the great ends you are striving so zealously to achieve." We send Socialist greeting to our friends and comrades, the Socialist "Endeavorers" of Texas. May they soon be ready to follow the example of Nashville and Memphis, and join our ranks.

A preacher who just returned from Cuba brings the news to his countrymen that "the whole structure of business, politics, society and etiquette in Cuba is built on deception." According to this dominie's testimony there is a remarkable likeness between Cuba and the United States.

A Baptist preacher of Chicago, Henson by name, regards the Declaration of Independence, if taken literally, as one of the greatest falsehoods palmed off by the devil on a credulous world. This is in line with the patriotic ideas of that other well-known Baptist saint, John Rockefeller.

Capitalist papers declare that Mayor Jones of Toledo would be an acceptable candidate for governor on the republican ticket—to save the state of Ohio on a pinch from the hungry democrats.

A Socialist farmer on the "Demands for Farmers" next week.

The Rostrum.

The Commercial Appeal of Memphis gives a two-column report of Comrade Eugene V. Debs' lecture in that city, May 11. From this report the following extracts are taken. The lecture was under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Council and was listened to by over a thousand people. Comrade Debs was introduced by Congressman E. W. Carmack. He said in part:

There has been an economic revolution in this country, but few people have realized it. A few years back people were on a social and economic equality. The employe saw where he could soon become an employer. To-day it is different. To-day the children of the poor feed machines, and the machines starve the children. In those days there was not a single millionaire or a single tramp. Employer and employee were more nearly on equal footing. There are in this country today about 4,000 millionaires, and nearly as many million tramps. Both are abnormal products of abnormal conditions. It is but a few short steps from the condition of a tramp to crime. Many hardworkingmen had become emergency tramps. A few years ago there was a great gathering of tramps in London. The police were ordered to disperse them. They did so. Before their ranks were broken by order of law they gave three cheers for Jesus Christ. Some people thought this irreverence. He did not. The man of Galilee sympathized with the suffering poor, and so far as history shows Jesus Christ never had a dollar. He had no desire to become a millionaire.

John Ruskin said there was no difference between stealing with a long arm and stealing with a long head. I quite agree with him. Because of mental might I have no more right to rob my fellowman than physical might would give me. But the principle involved in this struggle is essentially cannibalistic and will be until justice and right prevail.

Wages under this system have declined. To-day seventy-two operators were needed to make a shoe, where in years gone by one made a pair of shoes. In States where child labor was prohibited, work was let by piece and done at home. No education for the children, no happy home for husband and wife. The strife to-day is man versus machine. Women and children have been driven to the factories and shops, homes deserted, neglected, cherished hopes vanished, dreams of happiness awakened by the growl of the wolf at the door. The iron law of supply and demand works under the competitive system. The speaker presented a paradox. In the proportion to which products decline in price, the ability of the masses to obtain them decreases. When clothes cost \$40 a suit, the masses were better dressed than now at from \$6 to \$10 a suit. Shoes are cheaper than ever and yet more feet are bare. The more clothes or shoes the workman makes today the less he can wear. As his capacity for turning them out increases, through the use of machines, his ability to buy them decreases, through the decline in wages.

The competitive system under which the laborers live is war. How is it with the wage-slave to-day? He is not as well off as the chattel slave of 40 years ago. The chattel slave was put on the block and sold to the highest bidder; the wage-slave of to-day is put up and sold to the lowest bidder. Society is making criminals faster than it can punish and provide prisons for them. There are men not in jail who deserve to be. Speaking of the difference in classes, the lines drawn by society, he said the rich man was inebriated occasionally, while the poor man got drunk; the poor girl was a thief, while the rich girl was a kleptomaniac. He had the same sympathy for the rich that he had for the poor. Both are victims of the system.

He predicted that within a few years when a majority of men now in business were out of business and men now employed were out of work, the people would send men to congress who would decree co-operative ownership of all means of production and distribution. The people will have to take possession of the trusts or the trusts will take possession of them. Let a man go to one of the railroad yards in this city and steal a lot of scrap iron to get a meal with; he is sent to jail as a thief. If a man in

Wall street conspires and schemes to steal a railroad he is called a financier and may be sent to the United States senate. What is true of the railroad is true of the factories.

How to make a living, would be no problem in a true civilization. The savage did not speculate on how he would get the necessities of life. He lived free and equal. He floated down this river in his canoe and did not think of schemes to oppress his fellowman. He at least had something poetic in his life. The economic slave knew nothing of the poetry of living. In Chicago the man who cou'd face the misery at sight on every hand without being moved to tears had a heart of stone; on every side men, women and children suffering unspeakably; women trafficking in their chastity, men committing all sorts of crime—on every hand less miseries. What is needed is to make make everything in society co-operative instead of competitive. Everything in nature, the universe, is co-operative, moving in harmony. Suppose, for instance, nature should set up a competitive conflict between the planets, what a crash of worlds there would be.

Economic equality is a movement that is traveling over the world. By it penitentiaries will be depopulated, factories will become temples of science, homes will be comfortable and cheerful, the shadows of the gallows will be chased away, and the walls and bars of prisons will fall to ruins.

Last week the armed cruiser Nashville, after consuming a month steaming up the Mississippi, lay at anchor off St. Louis. The occasion was improved by two classes: jingo patriots and monopoly skinners. The boat was anchored in the middle of the river and the arrangements committee gave away (?) a monopoly on carrying the people from the wharf to the boat at 20 cents a head. The people could not board the boat they had paid for except by being skinned by this monopoly. They pay for gunboats, they have to pay to see them. A conspicuous illustration of the injustice of the arrangement was afforded when 400 excursionists from Alton, Ill., who had chartered their own boat, went down the river and alongside the Nashville, but were refused the privilege of going aboard by the officers of the Nashville. Nobody could get on that boat without first submitting to be fleeced. Captain Maynard, commander of the Nashville, had an opportunity to prove that he had courage enough to stand with the people who pay his salary, but the opportunity was not improved.

The comrades who are discussing the "Farmers Demands" will please take notice of what Chauncey Depew says:

"Agriculture does not appeal to everyone as an opportunity; but the world is about to witness a change in this. Business and scientific principles can be applied here as well as elsewhere. I believe the era of great farmers is upon us—men who will control hundreds and thousands of acres instead of sixty or a hundred. The method of the merchant and the manufacturer will apply as readily here as anywhere else, and the farmer will be a capitalist in the truest sense of the word. He will plant his field with the greatest economy and reap with the least and most effective machinery. He will economize in the matter of labor, as other merchants do, and spare himself all but the executive functions connected with his great enterprise. He will be an important factor in the life and prosperity of the nation."

"But the land is being rapidly divided into smaller and smaller holdings."

"Nevertheless, combination will come. The growth of population will dictate wisdom in the matter of tilling the soil. It will reorganize farm methods and make only the broader methods profitable."

The statutory limit to the market price of a human life is understood in many states to be \$5,000, but a dozen men in Chicago are eager to accept the offer of a physician to undergo an experiment, which may cost them their lives, for \$100 cash down. This they do because the money will relieve the distress of poor relations. But \$100 is really a high figure for a life, according to Judge Robinson, of New Haven, Conn., who has just awarded \$10 to the relatives of a poor man killed by a railroad company.

William Hopps is fighting with Funston in the Philippines. He has not drawn any pay for some time and his wife and baby are destitute in St. Louis. The other day baby Hopps was turned over to one of the city institutions, and the destitute wife will try to find something to do until her hero husband returns with a "barrel of money."

It is reported that the administration will exert influence to seat Quay. A united delegation from Pennsylvania is necessary in the next national convention.

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

A SYMPOSIUM.

H. M. HYNDMAN, ENGLAND.

At the end of the Nineteenth Century two economic changes can be discerned. England no longer dominates the markets of the world. Competitive capitalism is being displaced by organized monopoly. The British Empire, enormously powerful as it is, shows in more than one direction increasing weakness due to the exhausting levy of tribute to which certain parts have been subjected, while at home the inferior education and physical deterioration of large sections of our people put them at a disadvantage in the world-competition of industrialism which is being substituted for the narrower rivalry of a recent time.

The workers at home, on the other hand, find themselves face to face with the growth of that trust system which in America has already arrived at supreme dominance, and which no mere trade union effort can hope to encounter successfully. In every regime of capitalist monopoly is being instituted, and as yet the toilers whom it will overmaster seem incapable of understanding what is coming about.

Yet out of this welter of ignorance and oppression new ideas and new forces arise. Wherever the capitalist class has attained its full supremacy, there scientific Socialism comes in to organize a class-conscious proletariat capable of comprehending the economic development and of controlling the political and social life of the near future in the interests of all mankind. If the competition for wealth has inevitably engendered monopoly, the competition for wages is inevitably engendering combination and collectivism. The two forces of the near future are already face to face in every civilized country on the planet right away from Europe to far Japan.

WILLIAM LIEBKNECHT, GERMANY.

Never has German Social Democracy been so strong, and never more united, than now. I say this because the English middle-class press is telling you we were on the point of giving up our revolutionary principles and tactics, and changing into a soft party of reform, melting together with middle-class radicals and democrats. Don't believe a word of it. Fabianism, which misled Bernstein, failed to be exported from England to Germany, and will not, cannot, strike root in German soil. And for the very simple reason, that we have no radical or democratic middle-class. In Germany there is but one Democracy, and that is Social Democracy. Our middle-class has never been able to conquer political power, has never been marching at the head of political progress, and stands, since Socialism has arisen, on the side of the Junkers against us. The handful of middle-class men, who are real democrats without being Socialists, is fast disappearing, and the few, that have character and intellect, are coming over to us.

ASLESSANDRO SCHIAVI, ITALY.

A year ago last March, ten thousand citizens of the advanced parties in Rome, twenty thousand of Milan, an imposing cortege at the funeral of Felix Cavallotti, and Turati, speaking there finished his discourse with the words: "And now, comrades, let us resume our work!"

And a few days later ten thousand Socialists, all wearing a red rosette and singing the Laborer's Hymn, marched through the streets of Milan—to the terror of the bourgeoisie, astonished at their numbers—to celebrate the jubilee of the heroic "five days," as the inheritors of the revolutionary spirit of 1848.

The morning of the first of May dawned in golden splendor, for the workers' fete. But everywhere was heard the fusillade of the poor people of Southern Italy dying of hunger. Driven to despair, they

set on fire the old papers of the archives of the communes, using them as torches, symbolizing thus, with their destruction, liberation from the crushing burden of taxation.

And a few days after the first of May the fusillade spread beyond the South, to civilized Italy, to Lombardy, to Milan; and in their white terror, in the intoxication of at last delivering themselves from these troublesome subversive parties the conservatives of Milan went so far as to order the soldiers to bayonet the monks turned insurgents.

A fortnight later all political and economic organization was crushed and strangled out of existence. The wives and sisters who a month earlier applauded their husbands and brothers in the procession of the "five days," now mourned them in prison or exile, where the majority still remain.

PABLO IGLESIAS, SPAIN.

Our party, affirming that no one people should dominate over any other, condemned the colonial wars, and suggested as a means of concluding them the autonomy or the independence of Cuba, and the concession to the natives of the Philippines of what liberties they claimed.

Our party opposed the war with the United States, not only because it would be immensely hurtful to Spain, but also in order to display the principles of peace which Socialists uphold.

Our party denounced energetically the fact that Spain, finding herself engaged in warfare, took only the sons of the poor as soldiers, while the sons of the rich, by paying down 1,800 or 2,000 pesetas, freed themselves from military service. We condemned also the disgraceful fashion in which they were sent away, the horrible conditions and the privations they had to submit to while the chiefs and generals were in comfort.

Our party protested against the contributions imposed upon the poor for the purpose of the war.

Our party foretold the catastrophes which would fall upon Spain, and declared that the governing classes alone be charged with the responsibility of them.

Our party, as soon as the war was terminated, attacked fiercely the government and all the exploiting classes for the inhuman manner in which they brought back home the soldiers of Cuba and the Philippines, composed in the immense majority of invalids.

Our party, in short, has made and is making still a vigorous campaign against the present government for not having paid the soldiers of Cuba and the Philippines the arrears of pay due them, while at the same time they have satisfied the demands of the chief.

This work, done openly in the press and meetings, for a time, and as well as was possible during the six months in which the constitutional guarantees were suspended, and also the verification of all the predictions of our party in respect to the war, has modified much of the abuse of us by our enemies, and has created an atmosphere favorable to Socialist ideas.

EDOUARD VAILLANT, FRANCE.

The republican crisis, of which the Dreyfus case has been the visible sign, has been at once the occasion and the principal cause of this progress. In this renewal of the Cesarean and Opportunist conflict of Boulangerism, grown to the proportions of a racial and religious war, before the dangers of the clerical and militarist reaction, the Socialist party has done its duty, and united—without mingling with the bourgeois factions, eager for the capitalist exploitation of power for their own profit—and having no other care than the defense of modern society and of the republic, as well as of the working class, it has against their common enemies, against those who menaced them in their very existence,

against Cesarean clericalism and militarism, concentrated its efforts. And it has rallied against these the whole of working-class opinion in showing them to be the most dangerous instruments of royalism, capitalism and reaction. At this most difficult moment of the crisis, when the governmental imbroglio was at its height, and the military and clerical conspirators sought among themselves for the man for Cesarean *coup d'état*, the Socialists recognized the necessity of uniting and mobilizing their forces.

The Farmers' Demands.

I guess I am pretty thick. Anyhow, I seem to fail to make Comrade Martin understand what I wanted to. It may be well to understand, if we can, that our platform, like all Socialist platforms, is both revolutionary and reformatory. Hence it may appear, as is the case in more than one Socialist platform, that we demand certain things which are what Comrade Martin calls "any-old-thing" reform. The passage quoted in Comrade Martin's first letter is from the preamble of our platform and is quite true; although not yet all society is split into the capitalist class and the working class, as we use those terms, and yet, in the broader sense, there are but two conflicting interests. Thousands of farmers, I am unable to state just what per cent., do belong to the "dispossessed class." All tenant farmers with very few exceptions belong to this class, and I should reckon that one half the mortgaged farmers belong to this class.

On the other hand, all shoemakers, carpenters, railway employees, etc., do not belong to the "dispossessed class." Not by any means.

Let us examine a few reports from the U. S. census. In table 2, compendium 11th census, relating to farms, I find that there is a total (1890) of 1,624,433, or 34.08 per cent. of all farm families who are tenant farmers and belong to the "dispossessed class" quite as much as the New England shoemaker. Also 28.22 per cent. of the home-owning farmers have a beautiful mortgage as one of their "possessions." In 1890 only 47.32 per cent. of our farmers owned their farms. In other words over one-third of our farmers belong entirely to the "dispossessed class" and nearly one-fifth more are properly in that class.

There are 35.90 per cent. of the city and town inhabitants who own a home and are not "dispossessed." Again in the 420 cities having from 8,000 to 100,000 population 629,092 or nearly 36 per cent. own homes. And in the 28 cities having 100,000 inhabitants or more, 14.20 per cent. own homes free and 8.63 per cent. own homes with a mortgage. But this is not all; this so-called "dispossessed class" does not number near so great a per cent. as many people think. There is, however, no reliable statistics to prove just how many wage-workers have bank accounts, but in New England, at least, they number thousands. I cut shoes in a room where 60 people are employed; 35 out of those 60 have money in a savings bank or own a home, the value will compare favorably with the value of the average farmer's home. I am simply pointing out certain facts to prove that this "dispossessed class" average almost as large a per cent. in the country as in the city. In New England and the middle states at least, we find a constant change going on, i. e., the wage-worker who has saved some money is buying a farm or some petty business. On the other hand there is also a constant stream from the country to the city. Just to illustrate this in a local way, take the city of Brockton, a purely manufacturing city with a total of 6,155 families; 2,139 own homes of which 55 per cent. had a mortgage. Now I know something about the S. D. P. of Brockton, they are as hard workers for the cause, as brave and self-sacrificing as any band of Socialists on top of this globe. Yet, a canvass will show that a large per cent. of the

members of the Brockton branch are not of the "dispossessed class."

It seems to me that here is proof enough that so far as this "dispossessed class" goes, it is composed of both, "shoemaker and miner" and farmer.

I agree with Comrade Martin that there was no need of bringing in Marx, but Comrade Martin brought him in first, as the man whose books had taught him scientific Socialism, etc. Now I want it to be understood to be consistent too. I repeat, "the farmers are doomed to hopeless bankruptcy under our present competitive system." So likewise is the now possessed shoemaker and miner, the thousands of men and women who have insurance assets, bank accounts, little homes, etc., all are doomed under this system. I am not attempting to unite with him and save him and myself for the co-operative commonwealth. How many times have I got to repeat that giving aid to a man or a class don't make that class hate and despise you. What Comrade Martin says about a farmer not accepting the truth about Socialism simply because he owns his farm or even if it is "overlapped with a mortgage," I cannot believe to be true in general, I have found it to be the exact opposite. Now it ought not to surprise Comrade Martin "beyond measure" when I state an absolute fact in relation to the people's party in Kansas. Is it a "funny old thing" to demand the collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, trusts, direct legislation, a shorter workday, and a dozen other Socialist planks? Well the people's party in Kansas had all that and more in the last campaign.

I have said and I say again, the people's party was as honest a political movement as was ever built in America. There are some "rotten" politicians in all political parties. I have read the platform which Comrade Farmer is canvassing in Texas and I have also read some editorials in the Social Economist. Said editorials convey to me that Comrade Farmer is one of the very last men in the nation to kick against our farmers' demands.

I was not misleading in relation to France, as all of the candidates voted for by the Socialists of France in the last election did have the farmers' program. Prof. Jaurès, whom I regard as one of the very best Socialists in the world, is solid for the farmers' program. He is what Comrade Martin would call an idealist. Karl Kautsky has just written a book, over 600 pages, on "Agricultural Program." Edward Bernstein has advocated an agricultural program for the S. D. P. of Germany for several years. It is almost certain that the next convention of the S. D. P. of Germany will declare for a farmers' program. At any rate I find that Kautsky, Bernstein, and many others of Germany including Bebel, Dr. Victor Adler of Austria, Paul Lafargue, Jaurès, Millerand, and so on of France, and in fact most of the noted Socialists of Europe, are what Comrade Martin would call unscientific.

I simply showed in my second letter that grain elevators and cold storage buildings are needed. Comrade Martin tries to make himself believe that the farmers will store their grain and wait for a higher price. Comrade Martin knows full well that this is not the case at all. He knows that a large per cent. of the farmers are compelled to sell their products just as soon as they are ready for the market. That there could not be a corner of the market everyone knows full well.

I do not deny that the farmer might receive more for his crops, but not at the expense of the dispossessed class but at the expense of the speculators and jobbers.

Comrade Martin makes the same mistake again in supposing that just because the farmer escapes the sheriff's clutches and keeps his home he will ignore Socialism and refuse to listen to us, etc. If we are to believe that an increase of misery will bring about Socialism, then we are to stamp ourselves as entirely different from the position of the Socialists of the world. Even the S. L. P. has a land plank

that if enacted into law would place 500,000,000 acres of land under the control of Uncle Sam. Pending the time when the co-operative commonwealth becomes a fact what is to be done with that 500,000,000 acres?

Would it be scientific to have the nation store the grain in 20,000 modern elevators or to have it stored in 4,000,000 ramshackle sheds?

If every farmer in America owned a 6,000 acre farm it would be wise to have national elevators and cold storage buildings, and storing products at cost don't cost anybody anything, except the farmers. If I haven't done anything else I have demonstrated that the dispossessed class are not harmed by our farmers' demands. And I think I have made it quite plain that somebody besides the strictly proletariat, is also of the "dispossessed class." F. G. R. Gordon.

POOR ARGUMENT AGAINST SOCIALISM.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox in Post-Dispatch: A man who has experienced in so many things that he has lost faith in almost everything, said to me recently:

"I used to feel sorry for the workingman, and long to help him. I was something of a Socialist until I learned, by intimate association with him, that the workingman is just as selfish as the financier. His idea is not to better things for others—it is merely to better things for himself. He has no idea beyond self."

It was a surprising matter to me that the speaker considered this fact of the workingman's selfishness an argument against Socialism.

It is to give the workingman an opportunity to do something besides being selfish that the thinking philanthropists desire to change the present condition of things. With the competitive system every man is obliged to be selfish or go under in the struggle for existence. It is man against man and brother against brother.

A laboring man must work cheaper than his fellowmen and a merchant must undersell his competitors in order to succeed. When we see men who have enjoyed every advantage and possessing millions of dollars the incarnation of selfishness, how can we expect the struggling man of toil, who has had no favors from fate, to be broad-gauged in mind?

But change the system which now prevails, and we will find human nature changing. The environment of man is better than it was in the dark ages, and man is a better being, selfish as he still is. Once let the reign of co-operative brotherhood become established and there will be a sure and positive progress toward a higher humanity. It will not come at once—it will require a generation or two before order can come out of chaos. But the causes which produce and compel selfishness in the business world once removed, a very different race of human beings will spring into existence.

Should such conditions as the philanthropists desire be brought about today, we could not expect people who have grown old in the strife of gain to change their natures. Their brain cells are formed and very little improvement could be hoped for in their views of life. But children born and reared under a better regime would show the results of it.

"Whirlwinds of rebellion" are on the way, and it behoves us all to be thinking.

What Socialism Is.

A theory of polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his deeds."—Standard Dictionary.

Send in brief report of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

Stories from Real Life

A Girl's Struggle.

When you tell some of our friends that there are men and women in this country who have not enough to eat, and you try to explain why the present condition of things must be changed so that the poor honest workingmen and women may have a chance to earn a living, nine times out of ten they will put up the old argument that there is work enough for everybody who wants to work and that the present system is all right, etc.

Here is what the Boston Traveler, a "capitalist" paper, gives us to-day. The story, sad as it is, is as follows:

Weary of struggling against perverse fate and despairing, Isabella Nickerson, a pretty 18-year-old maiden attempted to end her life this morning.

First she wrote a letter explaining the cause of her act to her mother, who lives in Middle River, near St. John, N. B.; then she purchased a half pint of carbolic acid with money that she had borrowed, and, going to her room she swallowed the poison.

This act, the closing one, no doubt, of a life's drama, replete with pathetic incidents was performed shortly after 6 o'clock in a side room of the lodging house of the Dudley place, off Dudley street, Roxbury.

Ten minutes after the young woman had taken the poison—she was seen entering her room—the landlady found her writhing in pain in bed, and her face covered with finger nail lacerations.

The police were notified and the sufferer was taken to the city hospital. She will die, the physicians say.

Behind the deed is a touching story—a story of a friendless girl's vainless fight against the world:

Five months ago Isabella Nickerson kissed her widowed mother good-bye and started out with a hopeful heart to earn her own living, and at the same time save enough from her earnings to pay her mother's board.

She had heard a lot about the opportunities which this city offered to honest young women, and she decided to come here.

Very little money had she as she set foot in Boston. Still she had a stout heart, and by persistent efforts she managed to secure employment in a Roxbury factory. But the wages hardly enabled her to pay for the necessities of life. She could only pay for her board and room on her small salary.

The wealthy proprietor who used to see Isabella Nickerson every morning could not discover in her solemn but fair countenance the picture of poverty which haunted every moment of her young life.

But her worst trials were to come. Faint from fasting she had not the strength to perform her labors. So the starving creature was compelled to give up her work.

Isabella was of too noble a nature to commit a wrong act. She would rather starve. The good landlady of the Dudley-place house gave her generous assistance and tried to make her cheerful. But misfortune had long before robbed her of all cheerfulness.

However, the landlady's care had a telling effect on Isabella. She grew stronger. In fact, she got "well enough," to use her own expression "to work again." With a ray of hope left she called at the factory and made application for the position she was forced to vacate. She was tersely told that her position was filled by a competent person. Managers did not make it a practice of holding over jobs, especially when the person was not strong enough to perform her duty properly.

With an aching heart the petitioner walked out of the factory. That cold refusal blasted all her hope.

She went back to her lodgings and cried herself to sleep. Nothing could comfort her. She became delirious. Yesterday she seemed

somewhat improved. But there was a gleam in her eyes which the landlady regarded as ill-omened. "Oh, mother, if I was with you!" she moaned last night. Her whole thought seemed to be in the old home with her mother.

Not a wink of sleep did she obtain last night. Far into this morning the tramp of her feet on the floor was heard by the landlady and others in the house.

At 5:30 o'clock she borrowed a quarter and went out for the carbolic acid. She was gone but a short time. Then her act was discovered.

This is the story of 18-year-old Isabella Nickerson, and yet there are those who, favored with the good things of life, claim that it is impossible for one to go hungry in Boston.

Yet Isabella Nickerson must have been very perverse indeed, for she continued to do it.

Being somewhat acquainted with this poor girl, as she was a neighbor of mine, it almost broke my heart to read such an announcement.

She must have had a stout heart as the paper says, for although I could not help noticing that the poor girl was having a hard struggle against the world, it was not in mind that she had reached such extreme. The Traveler did not say she was dead, but the unfortunate girl did die in less than 24 hours.

Oh, men and women, wage earners of Massachusetts, how much longer will we stand this? Why should we not at once put our heads together and put a stop to these things by at least inaugurating a system of public works and improvements for the employment of this large number of unfortunates out of employment. The Social Democratic party, under the banner of Socialism, declares that the collective ownership of all means of production and distribution will assure to every man, woman and child life, liberty and happiness, and why should we not have it?

Let us send to our state legislature, next fall, more men like our comrades, Carey and Seates.

A. C. MENDELL.

"Here's Health to Ralstonism."

No doubt life is too short and space in our national organ too limited, to make it worth while to employ any large amount of either in an endeavor to convert a breed in the bone individualist to Socialism. I mean, of course, to a belief in its basic principles; for I am well aware that many individuals accept a part of our program, and even call themselves Socialists. But as the articles in THE HERALD are generally supposed to be written by Social Democrats, the letter by Guy Dwarde, criticizing Comrade Keown's lecture may be somewhat confusing and misleading to new beginners. The more so, as Mr. Dwarde intimates that he and his health club are working for the co-operative commonwealth. However this may be, and whether Mr. Dwarde is a member of the Social Democratic party or not, the cause of his not agreeing with Dr. Keown lies in the good and sufficient reason that Keown is a Socialist, while Dwarde is an individualist.

An individualist can never be made to see the influence of environment nor the force of circumstances. He is always crying out for the "improvement of the individual." Always telling you to wait till all men are good and wise and healthy and strong before you try to establish conditions that will give them an opportunity of being so.

As real Simon pure, died in the wool, uncompromising individualists are fortunately few, and unfortunately nearly always unconquerable, it would probably not pay to take up any space in regard to this matter, if it were not for the fact that some of the uninitiated might be led to think that Keown and Dwarde represented two different kinds of Socialism, while the fact is they represent two diametrically opposite philosophies, the one Socialistic the other individualistic.

Of course individual improvement is of great importance, but to say to the people "first the health

and then establish healthful conditions," appears about as sensible as to say, first let every one be wise and learned, and then, and not till then, establish schools. I said that individualists are nearly always unconquerable, but not every one who has a hobby which he considers to be ahead of the straight "class conscious" political movement is a natural individualist. Many assume this position because of a lack of knowledge in regard to Socialism, but this does not seem to be Bro. Dwarde's case, however, even he may not be unconquerable. So here's a "health" to the Ralston club, with its "three governors and more than thirty congressmen, several senators, doctors, judges, merchants, craftsmen, teachers, students, professional men, authors, army "officers" and others who see the co-operative commonwealth "not so very far ahead" (although they do not yet, as a rule, vote for it). Success and long life to them all, and may the time soon come when they will see their way clear, to assist in political action, conditions under which others will have an opportunity of becoming as healthy, wealthy and wise as themselves.

Lynn, Mass. AMBROSE MILES.

MAGGOTS.

[Written for THE HERALD]

You have seen the wrigglers in constant squirm; Consuming the flesh of a mellow cheese, putting and boring and gnawing away; The exquisite nourishment made for man. Some you perceived were sullying and weak; And others congested, hungry and large. Earth is a cheese and some maggots are men; Boring and drilling and grinding its flesh, Just for the mere pleasure of appetite. Pushing and squeezing and crawling along; Into every accessible cranny; Driving and thwarting and snarling till death; Marching with ravenous gusto the cheese. I see a fat bristling maggot up there, Almost a hundred years crumpling the earth; The pith of a state he eats at a meal; Wriggling and wringing in haste to get more; Keeping ten million stomachs unfed; And this fat-totted maggot is G. P. H. He wants all the substance this earth contains; His skin is elastic, 'twll hold even more; 'Escarot' is a stranger to his appetite. O God, how he swells with other men's shares! The ocean has not a stomach like this. Ligh, how he wriggles while swallowing his meals; What sad desolation he leaves in his wake; Worse than a comet that smashes a world. TELL ME OF HIS HOST OF LACKEYS FOR SURE;

That tuned bore rich substance for him, Gasping and tagging great burdens along; Sweating and straining themselves unto death;

Just to make a big maggot more bloated.

Oh what a gratification this is,

To carry rich stores to a huge greedy mouth;

Then lie limp and empty, hungry and cold,

And see all the good things devoured piecemeal!

This must be better than comfort and ease.

So many millions love toiling this way;

They must enjoy it as good as the best;

Or why do they do it can anyone tell?

—J. R. ARMSTRONG.

Another Lie Nailed.

The first six months of the operation of the municipal lighting plant at Cumberland, Md., have just ended, and the commissioner's report that results from an economical standpoint have even exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the promoters of the plant. The town by a large majority two years ago voted to issue \$20,000 for the installation of the plant.

The enemies of the move predicted complete failure. The plant was completed and placed in fine working order for \$19,000. The running expenses for six months, including labor, coal and maintenance, and also interest, have aggregated \$3191.11. There are in operation 186 arc lights of 1200 candle-power each, which burn all night and every night. This would make the total cost of each light, interest included, \$17.15 for six months, \$34.30 per annum, \$2.86 per month or one cent per hour. The cost per annum \$34.30 per arc light is the lowest on record.

Under former contracts with a private company Cumberland paid \$91.25 for each arc light. Fifty-six cities of the same size as Cumberland, 20,000 population, who have no municipal plants and buy their light, pay an average of \$95.67 per arc light per year. Baltimore pays \$127.75 per year for 2000 candle-power lights. President Isaac Hirshel of the council is the father of the municipal plant movement. Depreciation is not calculated in the above cost. Allowing 3 per cent, for this, the total cost of each lamp would be \$35.53 per annum.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederic Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipiency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—

Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance. In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply, over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle; heré, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a subabundance of workingmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE.

The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.

1895.....	90,000
1897.....	750,000

BELGIUM.

1894.....	334,500
1898.....	534,324

DENMARK.

1872.....	315
1884.....	6,805
1887.....	8,408

1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,098
1895.....	25,019
1898.....	32,000

FRANCE.

1885.....	30,000
1888.....	91,000
1893.....	590,000
1898.....	1,000,000

GERMANY.

1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,927</td

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

JESSE COX, CHAIRMAN. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, SECRETARY.
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National Secretary-Treasurer—THE CCCCE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
EDITOR—A. S. EDWARDS.

Terms of Subscription.—One year, 50c. Six Months 25c. No papers are sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you are receiving it, then it has been paid for by a friend and no bill will follow.

[Entered at the Belleville Ill., Postoffice, as second class matter, December, 1898.]

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1899

The Farmers' Platform.

I AM glad that some of our comrades realized the necessity of discussing the farmers' platform. I hope many will follow. I am one of the "friends" who though not opposed to a special farmers' platform in general, am very little satisfied with our present one, and think a great many improvements are needed to make it acceptable. Our "enemies" go so far as to deny our party the right to call itself "Socialist" because of the middle class platform. To clear up that point let us turn to our experienced comrades in Europe.

The comrades in Germany discussed the way of propaganda among farmers in two conventions (at Frankfort, 1895, and at Breslau, 1896); they decided at last not to accept the farmers' platform brought before them by their specially appointed committee, held the question yet open and instructed their executive committee to continue to collect facts on it and publish special series on that question. Perhaps the comrades in Germany will yet accept a farmers' platform, although I doubt it; but if Comrade Gordon could read the reports of the convention at Breslau he would agree that the proposed form of farmers' platform is certainly doomed forever. But whatever the decision of the German comrades was, they thought it necessary to discuss the question for two years in their press, meetings and conventions.

Our comrades of France have until now a special farmers' platform. Their platform was much criticized, but nevertheless the Marxist party, which endorsed that platform, is considered by the Socialists of Europe the most advanced Socialist party in France. They were represented at the last International Socialist Congress at London, and so high is the esteem of the European comrades for them that France was allowed to have two votes instead of one as all the other nations had, only to give the Marxist party an opportunity to express their views.

I translate from this farmers' program a part of their appeal to the farmers and also the most important demands; the rest concerns special laws of France which are of no interest to us:

"The workingmen's party is far from desiring to divide up your property; it is only fighting against the parasites of big property and tries to reduce the heavy burden which presses the small man, to defend farmers from proprietors who are exploiting them and to assure fair wages and support in old age for those who have only their bare hands to gain a livelihood." (Page 1, Program Agricole du Parti Ouvrier, 1893, Lille.)

Following are the "demands":

Par. 1. A minimum wage for farm laborers by day or year, to be determined by a joint committee of farm laborers and municipal officers.

Par. 2. Erection of an arbitration committee to settle difficulties between farm laborers and employers consisting of an even number of employers and employees.

Par. 4. Public land of towns or cities to be given to poor families who do not possess land, with the condition not to employ laborers and obligation to pay a certain sum to the municipality.

Par. 5. Pensions to be paid to invalids and men of old age. Money

to be raised from taxes on big property.

Par. 6. The commune (municipality) to buy agricultural machines and rent them to the farmers. Farmers to organize associations for buying needed products and selling farm products.

Par. 7. No taxes in transferring property valued less than \$1000 (in case of inheritance, marriage, etc.)

Par. 8. A commission of arbitration should regulate the amount of rent which the farmer has to pay for his land and should determine a compensation for farmers who have improved the rented land and in virtue of that given more value to the land.

You see that the French comrades gave a good deal of thought to that program. There are quite a few "middle class" demands in it. The reason I gave it here, is to show that that question is not so easily taken off the order of business, as some imagine.

I am well satisfied that our party made an attempt to give a farmers' platform, because that shows that we understand the necessity of taking a stand on that question. Our platform is not accepted by referendum vote of the party and it is the duty of every comrade to investigate the question, so as to be able to give an intelligent vote on it. Let us take an example from our German comrades. All the important questions to be brought before a convention are published three months before the convention takes place and then they are thoroughly discussed in the press and at meetings.

What should be the criterion of our relations to the middle classes? Why should we be interested at all in winning them for Socialism? Leaving our sympathy with their suffering and hard struggle aside and considering only the selfish interests of the wage earning class, we must agree that if the middle class is interested in Socialism and ready to work for the cause, it can help us to achieve victory earlier than if we had that class for our enemies. The question arises, can we interest them in Socialism at all?

I have no doubt that we can, that the animosity is against imaginary Socialism more than real Socialism. In characterizing whole periods of history, we only speak about the leading events or points. So do we characterize the French revolution as a struggle between feudalism and capitalism. But if we investigate the history of that struggle closer (see Kautsky in his admirable little book on "Class Struggles of the French Revolution") we will see that some parts of the aristocracy were helping the revolution; on the contrary, some of the capitalist class stuck to the old regime against their own class interest. These little influences are of great importance to the practical worker. Although the leading points of our time is the clashing of the two opposite interests of capitalists and workers, the middle class will influence the struggle by either helping it to come sooner to the necessary end of victory for the proletariat or by detaining that victory. Their hard fate compels them to investigate circumstances and prepares them because of that for the acceptance of our "new message" of Socialism.

If we help them to smooth their thorny path, if we protect them from direct robbery, their sympathy will be on our side.

If we decide then that the middle class is a factor of importance in our struggle for the abolition of capitalism and that it can be

reached by the truth of Socialism, let us have certain demands in our platform or even a whole platform for their special interest. All the demands should be viewed from the following standpoints: (1) the palliative which is introduced to help the farmer or middle class man should not be against the interests of the wage-earner; (2) it should not conceal the fate of the middle class nor make the issues of Socialism unclear.

The 16 to 1 issue was against the interests of the workers directly and also made the issue of Socialism unclear, because it gave the indebtedness of the farmer as the cause of his deplorable position, instead of explaining the working of the economic factors of competition and trustsification. Municipal Socialism although a step in the interest of the middle class, is a desirable issue. Besides being of great value to the working class, it prepares the way for the middle class to grasp the grand idea of national and international Socialism.

I will now proceed to discuss our own platform from the above stated views. Let us consider each point of the "Demands for Farmers" separately. In demand first, the part stating that no more public land to be sold, etc., is good, but the second part, "or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres"—deserves a good deal of thought. I think it sins against the condition "not to conceal the fate of the middle class" and that it makes the issues of Socialism unclear. The farmers can make the leasing of small parcels to them under easy conditions combined perhaps with loans on small interests, an issue for itself. They can expect new life for their class from such action of the government.

The benefit which some farmers could receive from such demands does not compensate the harm which such reform can bring by breeding illusions in the heads of the farmers. Not the amount of acres is of importance by leasing land to private people, but the conditions under which the lease is granted. And besides the conditions given (strict regulations as to improvements and cultivation) I would suggest to add, that the government should accept a standard of minimum wages for farm laborers employed on land leased from the government. Doubtless the bigger capitalist could easier comply with such a demand than the middle class farmer, but that only proves that the form of small property is in every way against progress.

The second demand (construction of grain elevators, etc.) is acceptable for a Socialist platform, because it is a step toward the socialization of land and capital.

Demand three and four are really covered by paragraph three of the "demands" following our declarations of principles and the little variation is not important enough to bring them in our national platform, although they might do well in a state or city campaign.

Demand five is acceptable for the same reason as paragraph two.

In my opinion only three points of the farmers' demands are good; demand first (changed in the sense I have suggested), two and five. But we give the farmers a splendid "platform" in our demands, following the declaration of principles. Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, are of the greatest interest for farmers. Why should not the above mentioned three points of the "Demands for Farmers" be incorporated in the column of our general demands?

If a separate farmers' platform is really needed, and I have no doubt that our western comrades have good reasons for demanding it, it should be prepared with a good deal of deliberation and I consider it of great importance that due space should be given to our views on the middle class. In the introduction of the farmers' demands the farmer is spoken off as "the worker of the country" in comparison with the worker of the city—the wage-earner. Such expressions are liable to lead to misunderstandings.

Why should we call the farmer

that the little store-keeper or businessman in the city is not a "worker" but a middle class man. I do not deny that the farmer works, but so does the middle class man in the city and both suffer a great deal and deserve our full sympathy; but all that is not an excuse for using wrong expressions, and perhaps creating an impression that the country has only farm workers, when in reality there are farmhands and farm-owners. A workingman is the man separated from his tools of production; the middle class man in the country or city is the man who is yet in possession of his tools of production, but has to work on them himself, if even he employs some workers to help him. In an introduction to a farmers' platform I think it advisable to show the farmers their situation and the fate they have to expect, the real issues of Socialism and how Socialism is misrepresented.

The present farmers' platform needs another introduction. In our declaration of principles we do not mention even the term middle class and it looks, therefore, strange to see attached to that declaration a special platform for that middle class. If the farmers' platform shall come before the comrades to be voted upon in its present form, I think it advisable to vote against it, even if the comrades agree in principle to have a farmers' platform. In its present form it will lead to a good deal of misunderstanding. ANTONINE KONIKOW.

The blazing sun of capitalism has poured down its scorching rays and dried the very blood of imprisoned her life-resources.

With the wind will come the rain; with the dark clouds will come the cooling shade, with the coming of the tempest will depart the drought.

What matters it if a few private shade trees are overthrown or a streetful of business signs be twisted off, or a sky-scrapping commercial cobweb or so be blown over?

The rain that will bend, and perhaps crush, the business tops of social vegetation, will give new life and vigor to the labor-roots.

When the storm has passed every workingman's vine and fig tree will be renewed in strength and beauty, and every life-giving stream of production will overflow its banks as in the days before the drought. Hence we hail the storm.

The church is the ecclesiastical weather-cock of public opinion. When it swings round, you may depend on it something has changed.

We are familiar with the action taken in regard to Prof. Herron in Dr. Thomas' church in Chicago, when he was refused the pulpit on account of his too liberal doctrines.

We are apt to misjudge the church in general by the church in particular, and to think that because some old weather-cocks have got stuck with old rust or new paint, that the wind hasn't changed. But another church incident in New York gives a truer idea of the trend of public opinion.

In a certain Presbyterian church in that city the pastor was asked a few weeks ago by the trustees to resign.

Because he cut his hair and let his brain grow?

Because he trod on rich people's corns and dared to preach Christianity instead of Calvinism?

Because he had ventured to assert that religion had something to do with earth, and that poor people had human rights and heavenly privileges?

Not a bit, but simply because he wouldn't preach on social topics?

In Boston a few weeks ago, a private meeting was held of Socialist ministers. Invitations were sent to as many clergymen in adjoining towns as were known to be favorable to reform.

There were present sixteen ministers, all of whom were avowedly either sympathetic or scientific Socialists.

Almost every denomination was represented, from Judaism to Methodism and Unitarianism to Presbyterianism.

Some came from aristocratic city churches; others from quiet country parishes. But all, without exception, were willing and anxious to do whatever lay in their power to make Socialism an industrial reality.

Strangely enough, it happened that there were present the Unitarian ministers from five different towns, within ten miles of each other, and in one of the most conservative parts of New England.

To show the temper of these towns a year ago, and their regeneration since, let me relate an incident.

At that time I was talking with a native of one of these towns, and asked him about the politics of the place.

"Is there much reform element here?" said I.

"Reform element?" he inquired with a look of perplexed surprise.

"Why," I said, making it more definite, "are there any populists around?"

"Populists?" he repeated, with a face as blank as that party's prospects.

"Well," I said, as last resort, "are there many Democrats?"

His face lighted up, and he responded, "There was a democrat living here two miles down, but he moved away a year ago!"

And in that republican desert, in a church a hundred yards from the spot where we stood, Margaret Haile spoke on Socialism three weeks ago.

And she still lives!

MERLIN.

Rescue? Rescue.
Our land is suffering an industrial drought.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25¢ per month.

Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday evening at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., at 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1709 Washington street.

Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 88 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m., New Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Franklin street.

Illinois.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secre.ary.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 53 Blue Island ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American school, Lat. Kacel cor. 19th and Leavitt st. Secretary Frank Out, 80 W. 19th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 5-5 Blue Island ave.

Indiana.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis, J. Zorn, Secretary.

Maryland.

Branches Nos. 1 and 2, Maryland, meet every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 50 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turners Hall. Organizer, H. Schilfing, 20 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., holds business meeting first Sunday of each month, at 12 o'clock noon, at W. C. T. U. Hall, corner Oxford and Washington streets. E. W. Timson, 2 Albion st., Fin. Sec., Treas. Notice of agitation meetings will appear in THE HERALD and local papers. Public invited.

Branch 9, (Mass.) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 19 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 19 Webster st., Sec.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 1043 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 3006 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 2 p. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen Avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langford, 319 Tennessee avenue.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3rd Mo.) meets every 3d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 13th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3006 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 8:30 a. m., at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk st. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 3324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 480 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenthal, 1121 Chamber street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 1121 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City, G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, sec.

St. Louis Twenty-sixth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 846-88 Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3350 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1031 South Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 1031 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen Avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomson, 281 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen Avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1306 Mississippi avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth Ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 424 Warner avenue. Organizer, G. Gandler, 428 N. 20th street.

New York.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d Thursday at 112 Clinton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 162 Suffolk st.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Morris Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st. Business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, New York City. Secretary, Louis Palevsky, 587 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (6th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 331 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 244 E. 24th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 26th st., Sec.

BERGER'S LECTURE AT OSHKOSH. SOCIALIST JUBILEE AT WHITMAN, MASS.

Comrade Victor L. Berger made an address recently on Socialism before the Candlelight club of Oshkosh, an organization made up of prominent men of that place, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, teachers, preachers, editors and also members of the normal school faculty. The club holds periodical banquets at the Athearn house with an invited guest to deliver an address afterwards. Mr. Berger was assured that the club put aside all prejudices on such occasions and that he could speak freely and feel sure of a respectful hearing. He took them at their word, and the members now doubtless feel that there is at least one absolutely fearless man in the world. Still, they treated their guest with cordiality, and, after he had finished his paper, kept him answering questions for fully two hours. There were, of course, the old familiar questions that a Socialist always runs up against, and also there were silly ones and wise ones, and the latter predominated. Mr. Berger's long suit is repartee, and he gave his auditors a lively time of it and much to their appreciation, apparently. The speech and the discussion made such an impression that the capitalist organ, the Daily Northwestern, the largest daily in the State outside of Milwaukee, reprinted the lecture almost verbatim, devoting six columns to it, divided about equally between the issues of Wednesday and Thursday, respectively, quite an unusual thing for a capitalist daily to do! The editor of the paper said editorially that the club did not coincide with Mr. Berger's views, but that all admitted that he gave them an ideal state. "The length of Mr. Berger's address," the paper said, "precludes the possibility of giving all of it space to-day, and the last half will appear in a second installment to-morrow."

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funkhouser, 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Bohm, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2415 Jane st.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 p. m. at L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. H. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

Pennsylvania.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 7:30 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion room to 9, J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Saturday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funkhouser, 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Bohm, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2415 Jane st.

Branch 3, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 p. m. at L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. H. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month, at the Ethical Society Building, 35 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Brueck's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue, R. Schoen, 8, 12th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterle's hall, 117 Center street at 8 p. m. Peterle Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m., sharp, at No. 618 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Wisconsin.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month, at the Ethical Society Building, 35 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

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PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

The following amounts collected by East Side Branch No. 1, New York City:

Lemberg S.	25
Seltzer M.	25
Schwartz L.	25
Sobel.	10
Klein M.	25
Friedman M.	10
Lembec H.	25
Backer M.	25
Saperstein M.	25
Glikentz H.	10
Ordo I.	25
Viner S.	25
Bernstein I.	10
Jenow A.	25
Gallerty.	10
Gostenberg.	10
Member S. L. P.	15
Feinman S.	15
wolfsen.	10
Kaplowitz Ad.	50
Leitner R.	15
Dubinsky.	25
Michalewitz P.	15
Miller M.	10
Gronikman Ch.	10
Guyer A.	10
* * *	
Josephson M.	10
Depralow Leon.	25
Sadoff S.	50
Monte Carlo.	100
Previously reported.	\$214.45
Total.	\$181.50

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 480 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenthal, 1121 Chamber street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 1121 Chamber street.

A National Conference.

The following resolution has been adopted by the National Executive Board:

Whereas, circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the present constitution of the Social Democratic Party was framed, have rendered some of the provisions of the said constitution, and especially that providing for the choosing of the Executive Board, impracticable of operation, and

Whereas, it is desirable that the members of said National Executive Board should at all times be in accord with the object of the party, and its will, therefore be it

Resolved, that a conference of the Social Democratic Party be held. That two members from each State be selected by the branches of the respective States to act in conjunction with the National Executive Board; such conference to be held on the 6th and 7th day of July, 1899, at the office of National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of proposing and submitting to a referendum vote of the branches a constitution for the party, and also fixing the time and place for the next national convention.

Debs' Lecture Engagements.

Sah Antonio, Tex....May 19.

Austin, " " 20.

Galveston, " " 21.

Houston, " " 21.

Beaumont, " " 22.

The HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

SOCIALIST JUBILEE AT WHITMAN, MASS.

The first of a series of jubilee meetings was held here on Friday the 5th inst. and it was the grandest success that we have so far achieved, in both a numerical and financial way, in fact it exceeded the most sanguine expectations of some of our most ardent comrades. "What are those Socialists going to do next?" seems to be the principal topic of conversation with the old line pseudo-politicians since the event took place.

First of all came the band concert by the first Socialist band organized in this country. They gave a concert outside of the hall, previous to the opening of the festivities on the inside, and considering the short time they had been together and the small number of rehearsals, really made an excellent showing. Favorable comments were made on every hand by those who claim to be able to judge the musical abilities of others.

On adjourning to the hall it was found impossible to obtain a seat, and those who could not get inside availed themselves of the large hall-way outside and the doors were thrown open so that those who could not see could hear. That they were attentive even though they were occupying uncomfortable positions, was evidenced by the fact that they remained throughout the program without entering a protest of any kind, and applauded the efforts of the entertainers as loudly as their more fortunate brethren on the inside.

The first on the program was Comrade Edw. Morrill who recited two appropriate selections and was applauded to the echo.

Rev. F. O. McCartney, of the Rockland branch, was next introduced and discoursed in a most eloquent manner on the true ethics of Socialism. While I have heard him on a number of occasions I must say that I have never before been so impressed with his masterly eloquence as on this occasion. He certainly appeared to the best advantage and has the ability to handle the subject (of which he is a great student) in a manner that is most impressive and convincing. Comrade McCartney has gained for himself a warm spot in the hearts of those who believe that there should be more Christianity and less Churchianity. Would that we had more McCartney's in this boasted land of the free.

The Soper family of Rockland, a Socialist family, favored us with a number of vocal selections which were received with merited applause.

Chairman Lowell then introduced the only and original Margaret Haire and it was plain to be seen that she was well known, if not personally, by reputation, and it was also plainly

Social Democratic Party Platform

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.
The Social Democratic Party of

America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers, at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

S. D. P. AND TRADE UNIONISM.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we need further recognize wage system; we further reorganization among the workers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we command an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible.

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1893, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore endorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

"The instrument of labor, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." Karl Marx.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

Constitution of Local Branches

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America, and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five nor more than 500 members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine; provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the fall quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five (5) members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified.

They shall perform such duties as pertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The Board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch; provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the Board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five (5) members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine; provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch; provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of local branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization, and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of 5 percent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum and a majority vote shall determine the result.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

SOCIALISM.—No movement of modern times has awakened or deserved greater attention than the one indicated by this title. In general it may be described as that movement which seeks by economic changes to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions. The growth of Socialism in this country has been rapid and will probably keep pace with the just causes of discontent.—Encyclopedic Britannica; American Supplement.

THE HERALD

Can be obtained at the following News stands in Boston:

Bingham's Restaurant News stand, (Sidney St.), 642 Washington St.

Maloney's Caf., Harrison Ave. and Washington St.

Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 95 Washington St.

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E. P. Lindsey, 1257 Washington St.

W. B. Smith, 1375 Washington St.

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Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898. OBJECT.—The Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the dominion of capitalism.

Where Trades Unionists will find the S. D. P.

The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working-class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization; provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee, to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Sec. 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 6. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 8. Any member of the Board, or National officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decision to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Sec. 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five (25) cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member.

Sec. 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Sec. 14. The National Councils shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Sec. 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to

carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the Social Democratic Herald. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Sec. 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Sec. 18. The National conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

REFERENDUM.

Sec. 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing, setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.

The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Sec. 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the Social Democratic Herald, within fifteen (15) days from the selection of said officers, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 21. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council, as the case may be,) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

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WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

The Czar peace conference will convene in The Hague next Monday. The Social Democratic Party has arranged two labor demonstrations in order to show to the nations of Europe that the peace conference is nothing but a farce and a lie. The first demonstration will be held in Amsterdam on Sunday, May 21, the second in The Hague on Monday, May 22. Comrades Jaures of Paris, Bebel of Berlin, Vandervelde of Brussels, Hyndman of London and Troelstra of Amsterdam will be the speakers at these Socialist demonstrations. Undoubtedly the Czar and his camilla will be very much vexed by these Socialist demonstrations and he regrets very much that the government of Holland has no power to send the "whole gang of Socialist speakers" to Siberia.

MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

Comrade Miss E Golde, M. D., 23 years of age, one of the best known Socialist woman agitators in Russian Poland, has been sentenced to deportation to Tomsk, Siberia. Miss Golde is the daughter of very wealthy parents. She took a prominent part in the recent students' demonstration. Three cheers for the brave Comrade that has to spend her life in Siberia, because she had the courage to stand up for the cause of labor and Socialism!

PARIS, FRANCE.

Comrade Jules Guesde, the well-known Socialist leader and member of the chamber of deputies, is seriously ill and is compelled to leave Paris for some months. The physicians have advised him to discontinue all participation in the Socialist movement for the present, for it would take months before he could regain his health.

ANTWERP, BELGIUM.

The annual congress of the Social Democratic Party of Belgium will be held May 21 and 22. One of the most important subjects that will come up for discussion is, "The Social Democratic Party and the Trades Union Movement."

WARSAW, RUSSIA.

Over 400 Socialist workmen of this city have been arrested for taking a prominent part in the eight-hour-day parade on May 1. The parade was broken up by eosacks and policemen.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

The number of miners now on strike in this country is reported to be over 60,000. The prospects of an early settlement of the trouble are not very bright.

CHARLEROI, BELGIUM.

The Federation of Young Socialists known as La Jeunesse Socialiste, will hold its annual convention on June 11.

CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

All the longshoremen in this city are cut on strike for better pay and shorter hours of labor.

STUTTGART, GERMANY.

All the furniture workers of this city are on strike for the nine-hour work-day.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

Our clubbing rate for THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to one address is 70 cents a year.

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

Socialism in Massachusetts.

Report of Representatives Carey and Scates.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Boston, May 6, 1899.

To THE COMRADES:—We are approaching the end of the session, only a small number of bills remain before the House, and it is expected that the legislature will have been prorogued ere the end of the present month.

The first matter of interest since last we reported was a bill to prevent prudential and industrial insurance companies from readjusting policies after they had been in force one year without the consent of the insured. This is a form of insurance common among the working people and injustices are frequent. We voted for the bill which was substituted for the adverse report of the committee on roll call by a vote of 99 yes to 74 no.

A bill, imposing a graduated tax on legacies, succession and certain other transfers, was upon roll call passed to be engrossed by the House by a vote of 107 yes, to 59 no. We voted yes.

Upon a bill to compel railways to equip their cars with platform gates reported adversely by the railroad committee, we voted for the bill.

Certain bills improving the present employers liability law, including one of ours, which was the most important, were reported adversely by the judiciary committee. Carey spoke in support of them all and our bill was substituted for the committee's report by a vote of 40 no to 60 yes. We voted yes.

Upon a bill to compel railroads to carry bicycles as baggage we voted for the bill, which was advanced one stage.

Our bill on employers liability came up for its third reading. It was again attacked by some of the legal fraternity, as it was in their opinion too sweeping. Carey defended it, and it passed that stage. As the law is now the trainman injured or killed upon a railroad by the breaking of a coupler, ladder, etc., its failure to operate or by striking abutments, signal posts, etc., is supposed to have assumed the risk when he entered the service of the railroad company. Our bill revolutionizes the law and causes such fact to be *prima facie* evidence of negligence on the part of the company.

A bill to abolish contracts upon public works was reported adversely by the committee on labor with two dissenters. Carey spoke for the bill, which was substituted for the report by a vote of 62 for the bill to 56 against. We voted for the bill.

The anti-coercion bill amended by the Senate, so that it assails the trade unions, came back from the Senate, which body insisted upon its amendments. The House refused again to concur, and a committee of conference was appointed, consisting of three members of whom Comrade Scates was one.

Upon a bill to prevent the employment of minors in breweries in bottling establishments, Carey spoke in its support. The bill was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 77 yes to 38 no. We voted yes.

From all parts of the state come evidence that the working class are awakening and the Social Democratic party is causing the Socialist movement to number its defenders its natural allies—the trade unionists.

We can now more than ever realize the importance and correctness of the attitude of the Social Democrats of America towards trade unions, and all members should see to it that their best energies are given to the building up of the labor organization of the country. Five branches organized this week in Massachusetts.

Fraternally,
LOUIS M. SCATES,
JAMES F. CAREY.

We will send THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to subscribers one year for 70 cents.

HAVERHILL VOLUNTEERS CHEER MAYOR CHASE.

Routine business was all that was transacted at the meeting of the city council this week.

Mayor Chase returned the order regarding the court house with his veto. In the common council they tried to pass the order over his head, but the attempt failed and it was laid on the table.

On the evening of May 3; the formal reception to those who have been recently mustered out of the U. S. V. service, took place. This reception was in accordance with a resolve introduced in the common council by one of the other side. The Socialist members of the city council insisted that it should be arranged on a basis of perfect equality, which was done.

Mayor Chase, as the chief executive of the city, formally welcomed the soldiers home in a fitting and proper address, in which he made a strong point on the inhumanity of war. He was loudly applauded. Other speakers followed, and said what one would naturally expect to hear on such an occasion. Congressman Moody was the last speaker. The announcement of his name was greeted with mingled applause and hisses. So far as the writer could observe, the hisses came entirely from the soldiers present, doubtless they remembered the fever-stricken pest-hole of Chickamauga, the storm-beaten tents of Lexington, and stone-breaking on the roads of Matanzas. The mixed character of the applause was not mentioned in the Gazette, but instead he was fully reported, loudly praised, and his candidacy as speaker of the National House boomed.

If spreading on layer upon layer of flattery, and at the same time glorifying oneself constitutes a good speech, he certainly made a great one.

And by the way, this method of speech-making is commonly used by such men. Immediately after Moody's speech, the literary and musical exercises closed; the soldiers calling for three cheers for Mayor Chase in which the entire audience joined. Afterwards, at the banquet, the captain in behalf of the company presented the Mayor with a gavel made from part of a Spanish gun carriage. Now, all these things are significant. The event, the circumstances before and after, clearly show two forces in opposition. The capitalist class have been comforting themselves with the thought that the last election was a "freak" one, and like a freak of nature liable never to happen again. But, the steady organization of our party begins to alarm them, and with regard to this congressional district they are resorting to the "favorite son" trick, viz: boozing Moody for speaker of the house, so that when 1900 swings around they will appeal to local pride to save the district to them. The soldiers have had an experience which causes them to see how small these "great" men are, and they are quick to show it. They heard from Haverhill when they were away and have had time to learn a few things they did not know before. Conversation with many of them leads us to believe that a large number at least will be found on the right side next election day.

C. A. FRAZER.

DEBS AT TIFFIN, OHIO.

There is no doubt but what "Gene" sets the people to thinking. If there is one thing more than another that I note as a result of his lecture here, it is the impression he made on intelligent and thoughtful fathers who have sons growing up, when he forcefully explained the condition and drift of economic life, and repeatedly put the question, "What are you going to do with your son?"

He has done the movement much good here, that too, under very adverse circumstances. We will try to have him again when the conditions are more favorable. People came from three counties, one man and his wife drove 22 miles to see and hear "Our Gene."

The Daily Advertiser in its account of the meeting said: "An

audience of about five hundred, including a goodly number of ladies and business men, was present to hear Mr. Debs' discourse. For two hours, the speaker commanded the closest attention from his audience and this fact forcibly demonstrates that his remarks were well received. The address was logical and wholly devoid of the radicalism which is so often attributed to this speaker. Mr. Debs is tall, smooth-faced and possesses a personal magnetism that readily makes friends with those with whom he comes in contact."

It must have been something of a surprise to many present to hear the hearty applause given to Comrade Debs' strongest appeals for clear-cut, uncompromising Socialism. It's coming. C. R. M.

Through the efforts of Branch 1 of Ohio in general, and Comrade Chas. R. Martin in particular, Comrade Eugene V. Debs addressed the citizens of Tiffin, Sunday afternoon, May 7.

The attendance was good, about 500 persons being present, and as this was our first effort at a public meeting, the boys are more than satisfied, and an increased membership is looked for.

Comrade Martin presided and gave the audience a very enter-

taining sketch of Comrade Debs. In reply to those critics who objected to the meeting because it was held on the first day of the week he said they reminded him of the candidate for coroner, who had printed on his campaign cards: "If you want a square deal (after you're dead) vote for Tim Dooley for coroner." Our critics were willing to give us a square deal after we are dead, but we had with us a man who wants to give us a square deal while we live, and introduced Comrade Debs, who was received with rapturous applause. Comrade Debs' speech was a great one.

Again and again would the audience burst forth in approval at his trite sayings and epigrams. His knowledge of the social question was so profound, and his manner of presentation so apt that the general verdict was, there is only one Debs. In the words of Sam. L. Smith, of Bellevue, who drove 22 miles to hear him, "we were disappointed; we thought we would be satisfied when we heard him once, but we want to hear him again."

Our audience was made up of friends from Huron, Sandusky and Hancock counties, and several from the smaller towns in our county of Seneca. We are elated and feel that we had a great meeting and heard a great speech from a great man.

W. O. BARNES.

JUST OUT! MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM. BY F. G. R. GORDON

A thirty-two page pamphlet packed with facts and figures. An unanswerable argument in favor of municipal ownership.

The first work of its kind for popular use. Every Socialist should help to spread it.

Single copies \$.05
Ten copies25
One hundred copies 1.50

E. V. DEBS & CO.,
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

A FRIENDLY TIP.

When a branch of the S. D. P. is organized it should not sit down on its hind legs and wait for the clouds to roll by. Presumably it was organized to work and work it should. Now, you want a large attendance at your meetings and you want new members. This plan insures both. Secure a rubber stamp with your name and place of meeting on it and order a bundle of the

Appeal to Reason

to come each week. Put the stamp on each copy and distribute them the day before your meeting. The cost will be low and the people will come. The cost will be something like this:

25 copies weekly, 3 months to one address	\$ 1.25
50 "	2.50
100 "	5.00
125 "	6.25
250 "	12.50
500 "	25.00

Address, APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan.

CAREY'S SPEECHES.

"Child Labor." Delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature. The popular verdict pronounces it simply "great."

"Society's Right to Land and Capital." An argument that is irresistible, couched in language, clear, graceful and poetic. Don't fail to order this.

Price 5 Cents a Copy or \$3 a Hundred.

Send Orders to

Mrs. A. Konikow,
1043 Washington St., Boston.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA.

Would you like to correspond with a British comrade, of the same trade, profession, pursuit or study, or with a view to a knowledge of the Social Democratic and labor methods and progress in Great Britain? Send us your name and address, trade, etc., and we will introduce you to a desirable correspondent. To cover cost of exchange etc. send International money order for 50 cents payable to H. M. Reade, 95 Charlotte St. Hightown, Manchester, England.

Send in brief report of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

THE MOST IMPORTANT BOOK OF THE DAY BETWEEN CAESAR AND JESUS.

By Professor GEORGE D. HERRON
OF IOWA COLLEGE
This book contains eight lectures delivered by Professor Herron last fall in Chicago under the auspices of the National Christian Citizenship League. The interest aroused was so intense that he is now repeating the course to immense audiences in one of the largest halls of Chicago. Professor Herron is the prophet of a better time and this is his greatest book.

No one should be without this book. It touches every present day question by revealing the foundation upon which the settlement of all these questions must rest. It contains the message which pre-eminently needs to be heard just now. It is of special value to all preachers, teachers, reformers and professional men and women.

Comments on Prof. Herron's Writings
"The burden of the Lord is upon his soul. No modern writer has stirred me more deeply than this man."—MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.
"Dr. Herron is a man of God as one under the compass of heavenly vision and voice."—REV. CHARLES A. HENRY, D. D., ENGLAND.

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